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T R E A T I S E

Concerning the

M I L I T I A,

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F O U R S E C T I O N S.

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| <p>I. Of the MILITIA
in general.</p> | | <p>III. The proper Plan
of a MILITIA, for
this Country.</p> |
| <p>II. Of the <i>Roman</i>
MILITIA.</p> | | <p>IV. Observations upon
this PLAN.</p> |

By C. S.

Charles Sachville, and Duke of Dorset

Meo animo ac vaticinio, aut jam est aut erit Princeps magnus,
qui pravam & laxam hanc Militiam corrigat, & ad veterem illam
ordinet atque adstringat. O si ille dies! quas laureas & victorias
videam? Injice hanc mentem Deus, & ad priscam illam ac Roma-
nam maximè militiam flecte: Cum cujus dilectu, disciplinâ, or-
dine, si nostra hæc novitia jungantur, quæ vis aut acies resistat?

LIPSIUS.

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TO THE
READERS.

THE several Schemes that have been proposed for restoring the MILITIA ; the many Debates in Parliament about it ; the principal Objection to it, (which is the want of a practicable Scheme ;) and the Experience of former Ages, in this Country, both before and after the illustrious Reign of ELIZABETH ; are all Arguments to shew, both the Sense the People have of the Military State of their Country, and how necessary it is to restore the Militia.

The following Scheme is not merely speculative ; or, as the Phrase now is, well enough upon Paper, but impossible to execute : For the Execution is much more easy than the modern manner of Recruiting ; and instead of being attended with Difficulties, will remove them. In this Scheme, Provision is made for continuing the Crown Army ; and increasing it, at any Time, to any Number of Men.

But the Advantages of this Plan, will be best known by reading it ; and I do not chuse to give myself, or my Reader, the Trouble of telling him in the Porch, all he is to see when he enters my House.

Here is no Favour to Parties of any Name or Distinction. It is entirely calculated for the Honour and Security of the present FAMILY on the Throne ; for the perpetuating Peace at Home, and making us respected Abroad ; and for restoring Virtue, Regularity, and the Execution

Execution of good Government in this Country.

I shall only add here, that the Passage from Lipsius, in the Title-Page, suited my Purpose, as well as it had done that of the learned Author : For when I wrote these Papers, I had the Honour to attend upon the Person of the best and most truly PATRIOT PRINCE, that, I believe, ever adorned, or blest any Country in the World ; and whose Loss I had, next to his own FAMILY, the greatest Reason to lament, of any other Person in his Service. But I lament it more for the Sake of my Country, than for myself. I know He intended many excellent Regulations for the Happiness of ENGLAND ; and did me the Honour to approve of this Scheme for a Militia, in many Conversations I have had with Him upon it. And at His Request, (which was always a Command to me) I committed it to writing, but too late for his Inspection.

I now make it public, that the present Generation may know, the Thoughts of
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their

their favourite PRINCE, upon this favourite Subject : And if they reject it, that Posterity may justify, or condemn their Cboice ; and neglect, or adopt it. I only wish, if this Plan is not pursued, that there may never come a Time, in which we may want that SECURITY This promises Us.

A

TREATISE, &c.

S E C T. I.

Of the MILITIA in general.

THE Subject of these Sections has been the Subject of Debate in every Session of Parliament, from the Restoration to this Time ; and of so many Pamphlets and Papers, that it should seem to be exhausted. And unless a Writer sets out with a Promise of advancing something New, upon this Old Subject, it will be very difficult for him to procure Readers. *Bis coctum crambe venenum.* Nor is it sure that even Novelty will excite Attention. No such extraordinary Regard was paid to a late “ *Plan of establishing and disciplining a National Militia, in Great Britain, Ireland, and America,*” (tho’ it was new) as to induce any Man to attempt the Revival of a lost Power, that has been successively oppos’d, and ridicul’d, ever since the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* : Or to *write down* the POWER that has grown up in its room ; and which, instead of lessening by *Opposition*, gains ground every Year, and will, it is to be fear’d, soon become too *formidable* for any Man to oppose ; if it will, in time, give Leave for any OPPOSITION at all. It is true, the Existence of a STANDING ARMY is annual, and depends upon the Will of *Parliament* ;

liament ; but is it not very possible, that this Renewal may in future Times become a meer Matter of *Form* ? Or may it not be renewed, from time to time, till it grows big enough TO PROVIDE FOR ITSELF ; and forsakes the Nurse that has fostered it, with so much Care, for so many Years ? We know there once was an Army of MERCENARIES in this Country, under the Name of the *Parliament's Army*, who were but Executioners indeed to the Parliament, when they cut off the King's Head : But having so done, they deposed their Masters ; raised one *Protector* ; obliged another to abdicate ; and having raised up, and pulled down so many different sorts of Government ; they at last restored the Monarchy in the same Royal Family they had kept in Exile so long. *Arabia, Persia, Rome* in her old Age, and *Egypt*, afford too many fatal Instances, of the bad Effects of *mercenary Troops*, not to excuse the Jealousies and Concern of a *free and loyal People* for their own LIBERTIES, and the Security of their PRINCES. But I will not attempt to frighten the Reader, by enumerating all the possible Evils of *Mercenaries* ; or give him an Abstract of the History of *standing Armies* in this Country, which is so well done by Mr. *Trenchard*.

Perhaps the Advocates for a *Militia*, have urged their Objections too home, against the standing Forces in this Country. Permitted by *Parliament*, and under the Command of our SOVEREIGN, we may flatter ourselves, that they will never be prostituted to the Purposes of *Egyptian Mamalukes*, or *Turkish Janizaries* : That no General will ever start up like CÆSAR among the *Romans*, or like OLIVER in *England*, to make the Army dependent on himself ; and then establish a *Military*, instead of a *Civil Government*. How vain these Apprehensions may be, I know not ; but it is now commonly said, that *we cannot be governed without an Army*. But, I say, GOD FORBID,
THAT

THAT WE SHOULD EVER BE GOVERNED BY SOLDIERS! We may be told, that they depend upon the *People* for their Pay, and will never fight against their Pay-masters; (which would be true, perhaps, if they were paid in the Name of the *People*, by a PAY-MASTER of the *People*; whereas the Fact is otherwise: And I submit to Consideration the Force of those Expressions so familiarly used, the KING'S BREAD, the KING'S SERVICE.) I hope they will never fight against their Pay-masters: But if the *People* should refuse to continue them in Pay, no Man alive can believe, that they will quietly disband themselves; especially if incited by any Authority, which *They* may think superior, to continue in Arms. And what should then hinder them from exacting the Continuance of their PAY? Nothing, I am sure, but their own Condescension and Goodness: For how can the *People*, without Arms or Discipline, resist any Body of regular Forces? And thus, at length, the old Dispute about *Resistance* and *Non-Resistance* (upon which the glorious REVOLUTION was justified) is become as ridiculous as the modern *Militia*! So true it is, (as some Gentlemen have, in Defence of a *standing Army*, advanced) that *England* is no more what she anciently was; and can no longer boast the Existence of a MILITIA, TO SUBDUE FRANCE, AND AWE THE WORLD: But then it is as true, that no *standing Army*, supported by this Country, at the most modest Rate of our present most frugal *Disbursements*, can perform such great Atchievements. The Expence of G——t is already so burthenfome, that almost every Man dreads a *National Bankruptcy*; and then, I suppose, a *standing Army* will be found necessary, to teach Men Patience and Resignation. If the military Man is provoked, by this manner of treating the Subject of a *standing Army*, (which must be owned to be a Matter of the most serious Nature) he will soon unbend

bend his Brow, if you propose to his Consideration, the present State of our NATIONAL MILITIA. If you are too serious, in your Animadversions on the One; he will be as ludicrous, in his Description of the Other: And I, for my Part, wish I may be able to reconcile you both.

I believe no Man in the Opposition, is so sanguine in his Hopes, as to think we shall ever entirely get rid of a *standing Army*. It was attempted, but in vain, soon after the Restoration. (The Army which restored King *Charles*, indeed, was disbanded: Not out of any Aversion to *standing Armies*, but to that particular Army, which had proved so fatal to the King-ship: But *Venner* the Enthusiast's Insurrection, soon furnished the Court with a Pretence, to raise and establish a Body of Guards, which was the Root of the present STANDING ARMY.) The Suppression of a standing Army was again endeavoured, with as little Success, a few Years after the *Revolution*; and is now grown too familiar to be turned off: And, to confess the Truth, our *Militia* is too contemptible, in its present State, to supply its Place. But the *Militia* may be restored, and the *standing Army* not entirely disbanded; and then there can be no reasonable Objection to either. The *Crown Army* may be readily augmented to any Number of Men, by Draughts from the County Regiments of *Militia*; and a much more formidable Army sent upon the Continent; (if it were possible that we could have a justifiable Call, in our present exhausted State, to wage War upon the Continent) than ever yet made its Appearance there from this Country: And our Fellow-Subjects at home be much more secure, from *Invasions* or *Insurrections*, than when left to the Protection of all the *standing Forces* ever allowed by Parliament. For then, every Man being enabled to defend his Property;

perty ; all the Coasts of *Britain* will be covered with Soldiers ; who fight not for Pay but for *Property* ; for their *Families* ; for their *Religion*, and *Liberties*. And if the Enemy should land, he must fight every Inch of Ground, and still find People in Arms against him wherever he goes ; and upon every vanquished Spot recovered, ready to fight him over again.

But can this be done by an Army of sixteen or twenty thousand Men ? Can they defend this Island, without marching to more Places than one at the same Time ; and is that possible ? What more can they do, than protract a *lingering Rebellion*, if the Enemy is nimble enough to get often out of their Way ? And should the King's Army be defeated ! — I leave the Consequences of such a *Defeat*, to the Mind and Heart, of every Man who loves his Country and his KING.

When *England* was threatened with the *Spanish* Invasion, in the Time of *Queen Elizabeth* ; when the Youth of *England* were trained up in the Use of Arms, they all took the Field in Defence of their much-loved Sovereign ; and She (that incomparable QUEEN) had more to apprehend, from the Neglect of cultivating Lands, than from the Armies of *Spain* : For it was with great Difficulty, that any of her Subjects could be prevailed upon to return to their Farms. The Spirit of Loyalty, in the People of *England*, was not less for his present MAJESTY, during the late Rebellion ; when the Want of Vigilance, and Providence in his Ministers, rendered that Loyalty at once so conspicuous, and so reasonably serviceable. — But they are now a People undisciplined, and without Arms. — Nothing could be more evident to all Men, at that Time, than the Want of a NATIONAL MILITIA.

The

The People of this Island would soon be brought to the Use of Arms: They are naturally brave, and all their Sports are of a martial kind. And I do not think, the restoring a *Militia* upon the following Plan, could give any just Cause of Suspicion, or Jealousy to the *Crown*, or *Crown Army*. For it will be as much under the Command of the Sovereign, as is the *standing Army* at present; no Regiment will be at Liberty to leave its County; and unless every Man in the Kingdom agrees upon a Revolt, it will be impossible. And that Any, in the Succession of this *Royal Family* will ever be forsaken, by the Nobility, and all the People of *England*, is unimaginable.

An *Invasion*, as I observed before, will be impossible. There can be no Insurrections, nor Incursions, that will not be immediately stopt; and it seems to be the only Way to get rid of SMUGGLERS and *Highwaymen*.—Such an Increase of Power to the King, and Kingdom; such a perpetual Guard to the Succession of our *Princes*, and the Freedom of their Subjects; such a public Security against all Enemies, from an Army to a single Ruffian, will, (it is hoped) meet with no Opposition, from any but Those, who would wish to see the present FAMILY indefensible, and without an Army.—*Party* is, or ought to be, out of the Question; and all Men, except the *Jacobites*, should unite in obtaining a Power for the Nation, that will make it rise again in Grandeur and Respect, to the Height it was at in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*.

I cannot suppose, there will be any Jealousy between the *Militia* and the *Crown Army*, as the Latter will be perpetually recruited out of the Former;

mer; and so both be united together as one Body of Men. And from the Regard I have to the *Officers* of the present Army, (many of whom are of great Rank and Fortune) I am unwilling to imagine, that they can be again such a *Plan*; which will for ever extinguish all the Prejudice of the *People* to an *Army*.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

Of the ROMAN MILITIA.

IT is often said, and it is true ; (and, when it is not used for an Evasion, or Excuse, it is right,) That however plausible, or fine, *Schemes* upon Paper may appear to be ; if they are not practicable, tho' they may entertain the Fancy, they can be of no service to Society.

The Example of former Ages ; the Experience of other Men, recorded in History, (like Precedents in courts of Judicature) will have more power to persuade and influence, than all the most subtle Arguments that ever were contrived by the most ingenious Men.

Experiments are of as great Use in political, as they are in philosophical Matters ; and no more Credit is due to a *political Scheme*, that is not supported by Facts ; than to a System of Nature, formed from the Suppositions and Guesses of a Man, who finds it much easier to tell you how he would have contrived Things, than to explain them as they are.

In favour of a *Militia* there is no want of Examples ; almost every free State affords an instance of a NATIONAL MILITIA : For Freedom cannot be maintained without Power ; and Men who are not in a Capacity to defend their *Liberties*, will certainly lose them ; for when Power is not retained in their Service, it will never fail to be employed against Them,

The Battles of *Agincourt*, *Poitiers*, and *Cressy*, abroad, and the several Wars at home, are proofs of the martial Powers of our old *Militia*. The irreproachable

proachable military Character of the *Swiss*, is an unanswerable argument for the bravery, utility, and honour, of a *national Militia*. And the Glory of the *Roman Arms*, that subdued the World; not to a state of Slavery, but to the influence of *Roman Laws*, the participation of *Roman Liberty*, and the protection of the invincible *ROMAN MILITIA*; is too great to admit of any doubt, whether such an Example should be followed by a People, *who pretend to an equal share of Liberty*, and of no less ardour for military Exploits; and whose Boast it is, to have a form of Government that approaches nearer to the *Roman Government*, than any other in the World.

The *Roman Government* was formed upon a *MILITARY PLAN*. Their first King was feigned to be the Son of *Mars*, the God of War; and the People were admitted to a share in the Government, by the free choice of *Senators*. Men in Arms will enslave others, but not themselves. When they conquer for their General, they will plunder for themselves: They will hold the Lands of a conquered People, by the same Tenure that they at first acquired them, the Sword: And will sooner change their Commander, than lose their Possessions. In some of our antient *Councils*, (which are supposed to have given rise to the present *COUNCILS* of Parliament,) when *Laws* were proposed, the People were present; and gave their Votes, or Assent, by striking their Swords or Lances upon their Shields.—Whilst the *Roman Army* consisted of none but *Romans*; and of such *Romans* as were Men of Property and Worth, *Rome* must have continued Mistress of the World. But when Numbers only were consider'd; when the Interest of a *Marius* or a *Cæsar*, who had bought the Army by augmenting their Wages, became more the concern of a *Roman Army*, than the Interest of *Rome* herself; when a *Roman Army*, (if *Cæsar's Army* may be called *Roman*) could be
found

found, that would oppose the *Senate* and their *Fellow-Citizens* ; whatever Actions, under particular Commanders, might be done abroad ; *Tyranny* would be exercised at home : The General would be the King ; the Army would elect, and depose him ; and but few Kings would be permitted to die a natural Death : The Army must be kept in perpetual employ ; and in time the Mistress of the World, be no more the Mistress of Herself.

That this was the State of the Army, at first, in the Decline of that vast Empire ; and then in the entire Ruin of it, is evident from every Writer : But whether that State did not rise, (as it fell,) from *Banditti* ; from Men that had lost every Virtue but Ferocity, has been matter of doubt. *St. Evremont* represents the Origin of that great People in a very mean Light ; and *Abbé Vertot* begins his Account of the *Roman Republic* thus.—*Un Prince d'une naissance incertaine, nourri par une femme prostituée, élevé par des bergers, et depuis devenu chef de Brigands, jetta les premiers fondemens de la Capitale du Monde. Il y admit pour habitans Gres, &c. la plupart Pastres et Bandits.* But if this Author had attended more to *Polybius*, he would have had a more thorough Knowledge of the *Roman Senate* ; and if he had followed *Dionysius*, in his account of the Origin of *Rome*, he had given his Readers a more favourable Impression of the Men, who first laid the Foundations of the *Roman City*, and the *Roman Government*. Modern Writers of the *Roman History*, have made too little use of the *Greek* Authors ; which is the more surprizing, as the *Greeks* professedly wrote for the Use of Foreigners, and mention many Circumstances, omitted by the *Latin* Authors ; and have been translated, with some Diligence, into *French* : Tho' I hope a Countryman of our own will soon do more justice to *Dionysius*, who is by much the best Writer upon the *Roman Antiquities*. He was well provided

provided with Materials ; he was diligent, accurate, and faithful in his Relations ; an able Critic upon other Authors, and very correct in his own Writings : Tho' it must be confest, that he has shewn more the fine Writer, than the scrupulous Historian, in the several Speeches he has made for his *Roman Orators* : But then it must also be acknowledged, that his Reader will be better informed of the true State of the Times, and the Circumstances of Action upon which the Speech is planned, than from all other Writings, Records, or Monuments now remaining in the World.—I could not speak of *Dionysius*, without giving this Character of him ; for as I have always been an admirer of the severe Virtue, and amazing Grandeur of old *Rome* ; so I have found the best Account of them in his Writings.—“ This City was
 “ no sooner built, (says that Author) than it produced
 “ a thousand Virtues in the Men, who, for Worship
 “ of the Gods, for Acts of Justice, for the constant
 “ Practice of the greatest Temperance through Life,
 “ and for Deeds of martial Strife ; no City, whether
 “ *Greek* or *Barbarian*, ever produced more excellent
 “ Men.”

And towards the End of his first Book : “ It is not
 “ a late Flow of prosperous Events, that has been the
 “ Mistress to teach them the advantage of Friend-
 “ ship, and the knowledge of every useful Art : Nor
 “ is it since that Time only, in which they first enter-
 “ tained a passion for *MARINE AFFAIRS*, and over-
 “ threw the States of *Macedon* and *Carthage* ; but in
 “ all times, ever since They were a People, they have
 “ lived after the *Grecian* manner ; and are not more
 “ curious or careful now, than they have always been,
 “ of every Thing that is excellent.”

“ I can prove this by a thousand Circumstances ;
 “ by many evident Tokens ; and by the Testimony

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“ of

“ of Men who deserve to be believed : But I refer them to another Treatise.”

Is it possible, that a parcel of *Banditti* could have established so perfect a Form of Government, modelled upon the finest parts of the *Grecian Plans*; contrived to promote Order, and Virtue; to prevent Irregularity, and Poverty, and Vice; to secure Liberty to Themselves, and communicate it to the World; and excite to every brave and patriot Action? ---- No: There is too much of Wisdom, of Virtue, and Valour in the Enterprize and Actions of *ROMULUS* and his Companions, ever to suffer me to think of them as a Band of Robbers, or outlaw'd Men of Violence; unacquainted with, and uninfluenced by, the best of social Laws. For of all *Politics*, (says *Dionysius*) suited to all the Circumstances of Peace or War; this of *Rome*, (I maintain) *to have been the most perfect*.

Romulus was not King, till he had the Voice of the People; and their choice had been confirmed by Religious Rites. He was rather the *first* MAGISTRATE in the service of the State, than the MASTER of it; not a *Tyrant*, but a *Father to the People*: And he chose rather to serve with Men, who were free, than to command those who were Slaves; to share the Government with the People, than to be absolute. In order to this, he divided the People into three *Tribes*, and each *Tribe* into ten *Curia*; (each *Curia* consisting of a hundred Men.) He then directed each *Tribe* to chuse three Men, each *Curia* three, but the King to chuse no more than one, to form a *Senate* of a hundred men, who, from their Age, their Family, their Fortunes, and a noble Concern for the Success of their infant State, were called the ROMAN FATHERS.

Besides this, there was another distribution of the *Romans*, into *Patricians*, and *Plebeians*. Such as had
no

no Experience or Knowledge of political Affairs; and, for want of Riches, could not be at Leisure to attend upon such Employments, were excused from serving in the Magistracy; at the same Time that they served in the State in as useful, tho' a more humble Capacity, in Tillage, and Pasture. These industrious Men of Labour were under the Protection of the PATRICIANS, whom they acknowledged as their Patrons; and to whom they ever after became *Clients* for advice, as well as Suitors for justice; which, in the virtuous Ages of the Republic, they were never denied.

Besides, the Excellency of the Form of Government, there were three remarkable and concurring Causes, of the amazing and immediate Progress of the *Roman* Grandeur. One was *the Reception of Strangers*; *Rome* being an Asylum, to all who suffered in other Cities. Another Cause was, *the manner of obtaining Wives for their Young Men*, by surprizing the Women, who came from the neighbouring Cities and Country to a public Shew, (a Measure that was become necessary; these People having refused to give their Daughters in Marriage to the *Romans*;) But when the young Women were surprized and taken, they were not violated; but kept til the next Day, and then made *Roman* Wives. The Third Cause of the extended Greatness of the *Roman* Empire was, *their Lenity to conquered Nations*. One proof of the Virtues of the first Inhabitants of *Rome*, is the great Increase of their Numbers. At first they did not exceed 3000 Foot, and 300 Horse; but in 37 Years, (and so long reigned *Romulus*) they were increased to 46000 Foot, and 3000 Horse. And such was the Harmony, arising from the Manners introduced and established by *Romulus*; that, for 120 Years, no blood of Citizens was spilt, no Murders were committed, tho' there had been many and great Contro-

verfies between the Magiftrates and People. And tho' *Divorces* were allowed by Law, there was no Inftance of any One for 520 Years, (fays *Dionyfius*;) and the Man who firft took advantage of the Law, and divorced his Wife, tho' a Man of Family, (not only juftified, but in a manner compelled to it by the *Cenfor*s) was hated by the People.

If fome part of what is faid, in this Section, feems little to the purpofe of a *Militia*; I muft tell my Reader, that if I admit the Charge, I fhall ftill think it was to my purpofe, to vindicate the Character of a People, who, in feveral Refpects, my Country-men refemble; who are, in moft Things, worthy their Imitation: and whole *MILITIA* and *MILITARY* *HONOURS*, I propofe, as the greateft and beft Example that can be followed.

The *Roman* manner of making Levies, is described, by *Polybius*, to have been as follows. — At the beginning of the Year, when the new *Confuls* made their appearance, they appointed the military *Tribunes*; taking fourteen from thofe *Equites* who had ferved five Years in the Army; and ten from the Foot who had ferved ten Campaigns. For, in all, the Horfe were to ferve ten, and the Foot twenty Campaigns, by the time they were forty-fix Years of Age. They took up Arms when they were about feventeen Years old; and if they had ferved twenty Campaigns, in thirty Years, they could not be obliged to ferve again, they were then *Emeriti*: And if they were defired to ferve as *Evocati*; they were greatly refpected, and not employed in the laborious or fevere Duties of a *Soldier*, but kept as a Guard for the principal Standard. Such was the treatment of *Old Soldiers* in the *Roman* Army. But if they had not ferved twenty Campaigns, in the time they were forty fix Years of Age,

Age, they might be compelled to serve till they were fifty, but not after that age.

Among the *Athenians*, the Youth did not enter the Service till eighteen Years of Age. For the two first Years they served for Guard and Garrison at home; and their Service ended when they were forty Years old.

Polybius, in his Account of the *Roman Military*, excludes such as had no Property, from serving in the Army: I except, (says He) those who are not rated at 40 *Drachmæ*. Under this rate were the *Proletarii* and *Capiticensi*, who never served unless in extreme Exigency: For Property is the safest pledge of Love and Duty to our Country.

They who were not admitted into the *Land Service*, were received into the *Marine*, and manned the *Roman Fleet*. It was a great and mutual Advantage, to both the State and the Army, that no Man could be admitted into any civil Employment, who had not served ten complete Years in the Army.

The manner of the *Roman Levers* was this: The *Consuls* proclaimed the Day, on which all the *Romans* of military Age, were obliged to appear. This was annual. The appointed Day being come, the military People from all parts arrived in *Rome*; and thronging to the *Capitol*, the Junior *Tribunes* (who because taken from the *Horse*, when they had served five Years, were therefore called *Junior*; with respect to those taken from the *Foot*, where they were obliged to serve ten Campaigns, before they could be chosen *Tribunes*) divided themselves into four Parts, according to their usual Division of their Forces into four *Legions*; in such order, (to prevent Jealousies) as the People or Commanders should determine. The first

four were assigned to the first *Legion*; the three next to the second; the other four to the third; and the three last to the fourth *Legion*. The two first of the senior *Tribunes* to the first *Legion*; the next three to the second; the two following to the third; and the three last to the fourth *Legion*. The Distribution of the *Tribunes* ended, in such manner, that each *Legion* might have an equal Number of equal Commanders. The *Tribunes* of each *Legion* taking their Seats at a proper distance from each other, (to prevent Confusion) the *Tribes* were called out by Lot; and then, (according to *Lipſus*, in his Commentary upon *Polybius*) each *Tribe* divided into *Centuries*; and from each *Century*, the Soldiers according to their Rank and *Census*, were called forth by Name from the Rolls or Tables, which gave an account of their Age and Property.

Out of this *Century* were four young Men chosen, as much alike as could be found. These being produced, the *Tribunes* of the first *Legion* chose one; of the second another; of the next a third; and, of the last, the fourth Man. Then four more being in like manner drawn out, the choice of the first Man was made by the *Tribunes* of the second; and of the last Man, by the *Tribunes* of the first *Legion*. After this, four others being drawn out, the *Tribunes* of the third *Legion* chose the first Man, and the *Tribunes* of the second *Legion* the last Man. And in this equal manner of Rotation they proceeded, that the choice of Men, of each *Legion*, might be equal: Tho' there are Instances of *Tribunes* having taken their Men by Lot, instead of chusing them in the manner described by *Polybius*.

After this particular Description of Levies for the Foot Service, I shall be very short in my account of the *Roman Cavalry*.

Romulus

Romulus had 300 Horse at the beginning; 3000 at the end of his Reign. But when the *Census* was established, all who were estimated as worth 400 *Sestertia*, were admitted into the Order of *Equites*; and if there was no Objection to their Character, they were presented with a Ring, and a Horse; and served in the Cavalry. Once in five Years, (that is, every *Lustrum*,) there was a *Census* and *Recensio*, or review of every Man's Fortune and Circumstances; and, each Year, a *Probatio*, or Enquiry into the Behaviour of the *Equites*, and the Condition of their Horses and Arms. But nothing could exceed the Magnificence of that public review of the Cavalry, in *Forum*, which was called *Transvectio*; when all were cloathed in Purple and Gold, and crowned with *Olive*; a glorious Sight, (says *Dionysius*) and worthy the Majesty of so great a City! Nor would it be a less glorious Sight, to see the Youth of this Nation make the like Majestic Appearance. As no inconsiderable part of the *Roman* art of War is retained in the Modern Service, and therefore known; and what is dropt, has been rendered useless by the Alterations in warlike Instruments; I shall not think I leave this pleasing subject of a *Roman* Militia too soon; if, I close my short account of it, with observing, that if a *Roman* Soldier was punished, it was oftner with Disgrace than with Death; that *Rewards* out-number'd *Punishments*; and that he was more likely to be influenced by Those, than aw'd by These.

Besides the Triumphs, *Beneficiarii*, and the Rewards of several sorts of Crowns; there were *Vexillæ* or Banners, the *Hasta Pura*, the *Pbalææ Torques*, and *Armillæ*. And he that is a Stranger to the Effect of public Favours, to distinguish Merit, is a Stranger to the human Heart and Passions, tho' of how little value in itself the token of the Favour is. A LEAF may

serve as well as a CROWN, and with equal Honour; till, by misapplication of the Favour to unworthy Men, it is prostituted, and therefore sinks beneath the acceptance of a brave and honest Man: In which case, whether it be a KINGDOM, or a COMMISSION, it is all one. Let the *Militia* of *Rome*, and the brave Actions of the *Roman* Soldiery, be opposed to Him who shall speak of a *Militia* with contempt. Arms and War are not objects of Laughter: But if by great Abuse and Neglect, a NATIONAL MILITIA, tho' once the Terror of the World, should ever become the Ridicule of Those who ought to serve in it; let it be the concern of every other Man to restore it to its antient Glory: And how this may be done, with allowance for a CROWN ARMY, without much detriment to the Gentlemen who now serve in that Army; and for the mutual Security of the KING, and the PEOPLE, against all Invasions, Civil Wars, or Foreign Insults, shall be shewn in the next Section.

S E C T

S E C T. III.

*The proper Plan of a MILITIA for this Country,
proposed.*

AFTER all that has been said, of MILITIA in general, and of the *Roman Militia* in particular: Or if we survey the Conduct and Example of Any, or of all the great and free Nations, that have ever existed within the Memory of Time; it will not, (I persuade myself,) be denied, that the only Persons proper to be intrusted with Arms, for the defence of the *Liberties*, for the conservation of the *Government*, and for extending the *Glory* of a brave and free People; are the Men Who have Property as well as Liberty to secure; and who are connected with the Government, by chusing a Body of Men for their Representatives, without whose CONSENT no Laws can be made. This was once the great prerogative of *Romans*, in their purest Age; and now is, (and may it ever continue to be!) the priviledge of *Britons*.

I shall therefore propose, in the first place, That every Man in *Great Britain*, at a certain Age; and possessed of, or connected with a certain degree of Property, shall be of the *Militia*; those only excepted, whose Professions, or different Occupations in the various Services of the State, ought to exempt them from any Military Service; and those whose Quality, or considerably Property demands their being excused from, at least, personal Service. These therefore excepted, it is proposed, that every Man in *Great Britain*, from seventeen to forty-six Years of Age, having forty Shillings a Year in Land, or under fifty Pounds a Year; or who is worth forty Pounds in personal Estate, and under 600*l.* and his Son or Sons, being of the proper Age; and all those not having forty
Shillings

Shillings a Year, or forty Pounds in Money or Goods, who have *Votes* for Members to serve in Parliament, and their Sons, of the proper Age, to be of the Foot. And Persons having an Estate of fifty Pounds a Year in Land, and under 300 *l.* a Year; or who are worth 600 *l.* in personal Estate, and under 3600 *l.* (and their Sons,) to be of the Horse. And He who has 300 *l.* a Year in Land, and under 500 *l.* or has 3600 *l.* in personal Estate, and under 6000 *l.* may have it in his choice to serve personally in the *Horse*; or furnish a Man for the *Foot* Service, at his own proper Expence. But every one who has in possession 500 *l.* a Year, and upwards; or a personal Estate of 6000 *l.* and upwards; shall be obliged, at his own Expence, to furnish a Man, and Horse, for the *Horse* Service. Those proposed to be excepted from personal Service, out of this general Rule, are as follow :

Peers and their Sons; Privy Counsellors; Members of the House of Commons and their Sons; Knights of all degrees; Justices of the Peace who *act*; all the Clergy; the Gentlemen of the Law; Practitioners in Physic; all Persons employed in the Service of the ROYAL FAMILY, or the Government; and all such as by their Religion, (being Papists) render themselves incapable of serving. All Civil-Magistrates, Parish-Officers, Sailors, Sea-faring Men, Fishermen, and Watermen.

Having described the Persons who are to compose this GENERAL MILITIA; the next thing that offers itself is, the Necessity of a REGISTER, by which the number of our fighting Men, (qualified as above) may appear: And this I shall propose to be effected in the following Manner.

That the *Constables* of every Parish be appointed to make *Returns*, every Year, to the Head Constables in

in every Hundred ; and to the *Mayors* and other Head Officers in every City and Borough ; of all the Men in their several Parishes, under such Circumstances of Age, and Fortune as before mentioned These *Returns* to be transmitted by the Head Constables, Mayors, and other Head Officers to the Sessions, there to be allow'd ; and from the Sessions to the *Lord Lieutenant*, and *Custos Rotulorum*, by his Officer, the Clerk of the Peace. By this means the number of fighting Men, in every Parish in *Great Britain*, will, every Year appear upon Record.

The Manner I shall propose, of training these Men shall be, that the *Church Wardens* of every Parish, be obliged to call out all the fighting Men of their respective Parishes to EXERCISE, the first Sunday of every Month, before or after Divine Service ; and the Church-Wardens to have the keeping of all the ARMS belonging to their respective Parishes ; and to deliver the same out to the Men on the Days appointed for their Exercise ; after which they shall be re-delivered to them, or their Officers ; and proper Allowance made for Workmen to keep their *Arms* in order. But above all, severe Penalties ought to be laid on all Church Wardens, as well as on all Parishioners, who should, (without a lawful Excuse, to be attested by the Minister ; and, if required, sworn before one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace,) ABSENT themselves from these monthly Exercises. Those of the *Horse* should be oblig'd to find, at their own Expence, a Horse, Saddle, Bridle, and Boots ; their Arms to be furnish'd by the Parish, in the same manner as has been directed for the *Foot*. Besides this monthly Exercise of the Parishes, there should be, at least, one GENERAL MUSTER of every County in a Year ; at any place in each respective County, as shall be judged most proper and convenient by the Lord Lieutenant : And as this *general Muster* will be found by the following Plan,

to

to be of the greatest Consequence ; the Penalties for *Absence* should be much higher, than those inflicted for Absence from the Parish monthly Exercises.

The GENERAL MILITIA establish'd, I come to the most useful Part of this Scheme, which is, to propose the manner of forming a select or standing MILITIA, by *County Regiments*, (Horse and Foot) to be chosen out of the general *Militia*. And,

First, To proportion, as near, as possible, to the Property of each respective County, the number of Men they are each to maintain for their standing *Militia* ; I shall propose, that one Man in ten be chosen by Lot or Ballot out of the general *Militia* of every County ; to be oblig'd to serve in the standing *Militia* of every said County ; by which means, (I think) every County will maintain an equal number of Men, in Proportion to its Extent and Property ; because, as all the *Militia* is compos'd of Men of some Property, the number of such Men will be equal to the Property and Extent of each respective County,

Secondly, That these Men, so chosen, be formed into two REGIMENTS in every County ; one of *Light-Horse*, and one of *Foot*, which are to be divided into Companies and Troops ; so that altho' every County in *Great Britain* will have two Regiments, yet the Regiments of the larger and richer Counties, will be compos'd of a greater number of Troops and Companies ; and, of course, have a greater number of Men to maintain, than the lesser and poorer Counties.

Thirdly, That this proportion of Men, to each County, be fix'd at the first Establishment of the standing *Militia*, never to be alter'd ; for it would be endless to be adding or diminishing every Year, according

to the number of fighting Men, who should happen to be upon every annual *Register*.

Fourthly, That these County Regiments have an UNIFORM, and be paid by the County.

Fifthly, That the time of their Service be two Years; to be reckoned from the time of their being chosen out of the general *Militia*; at the Expiration of which, each Man may demand his Discharge; and upon his return home, to the Parish from whence he was chosen, be exempted from all *Militia* Duty, for one whole Year; except he chuses to attend as a *Voluntier*. And as this two Years Service, (besides Deaths and other Accidents) will naturally cause great Vacancies; the manner of recruiting them should be as plain and easy as possible; which, (I think,) is answer'd in every respect, when I propose the *County Regiments* to be recruited out of the GENERAL MILITIA, assembled together at the annual County *Muster*; or whenever else the *Lord Lieutenant* thinks proper to appoint a *general Muster*: Which, perhaps, will be sometimes found necessary, more than once a Year; especially in time of War, threaten'd Invasion, or actual Rebellion.

Sixthly, The method of chusing Those, who are to serve in the *County Regiments*, should be by Lot; much in the same Manner as was proposed above, at the first establishing these *Regiments*: Only, instead of every tenth Man, it should be the exact number, (more or less) than every tenth; which the Regiments, at that time, should happen to want; and these to be drawn, by Lot or Ballot, out of the whole number of the *Militia*, present at the general *Muster*. But in order to make this MILITARY SERVICE as little burdensome to the People, as possible; I shall here propose, that if any Man, whose Trade or Calling depends

pende on his personal Attendance, and whose Family depends on his Trade, should chance to draw the Lot for entering into the Service of the *County Regiments*, shall have it in his Option to substitute another in his Stead ; provided the Person so substituted, be equally qualified as to Height, Age, &c. with himself.

Seventhly, The head Quarters of the *County Regiments*, to be, in or near, the County Town of each County.

Eighthly, Neither the *general Militia*, nor the *County Regiments*, or any part of them, so as to make a Body of armed Men, to march out of their respective Counties UPON ANY PRETEXT, OR BY ANY COMMAND WHATSOEVER ; upon pain of being declared ENEMIES to their Country, and guilty of HIGH TREASON.

Ninthly, A reasonable Standard, for Height, should be fixed, under which no Man should be admitted into the County Regiments, notwithstanding he draws a Lot for such admission : And, in this case, the Lot drawn by a Person not of the standard Height, should be thrown in again to the common Heap.

Tenthly, The *Lord Lieutenant* of each County, to have the Command of the whole *Militia*, (under the KING, which is always to be understood) within the County : And to be *Colonel* of each Regiment of Horse and Foot, without Pay ; and to appoint the Officers of each, who are to be paid by the County.

Eleventhly, If any *Lord Lieutenant* attempt to persuade, or presume to command, the whole, or any part of the GENERAL MILITIA ; or of the County Regiments, so as to make a body of armed Men, to march

march out of the County ; He shall be guilty of
HIGH TREASON.

N. B. All *Cities*, which are *Counties* in themselves, are, by these Proposals, to be under the same Regulations in regard to their *Militia*, as the *Counties* ; the chief Magistrate of each City having the same Power and Command, over the *Militia*, as the *Lord Lieutenant* of a County.

But the great METROPOLIS, the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, having a *Militia*, which they may at any time render useful, are left in the full Power of improving and commanding it. And I flatter myself with the hopes, of seeing the *Magistrates* of these Corporations exerting themselves, in restoring the Credit of their antient *Militia* ; that, in cases of sudden Emergency, they may make use of their own natural Strength, and constitutional Enforcement of *Obedience* to the LAWS ; and begin, early, to set the great Example to every other City in the Kingdom, of instructing a warlike Generation of Men (once more) in the *Use* of ARMS ; in defence of Themselves, their Liberty, Religion, Government, and Laws.

This new Species of MILITIA, by *County Regiments* being established, BRITAIN will boast a *standing Army*, which, so far from endangering the LIBERTIES of the People, will be their greatest Security ; and instead of raising Jealousies and Fears, in *Britons*, will restore their antient GLORY, and once more awe the *World*.

If this Encomium is thought too great, I hope I shall be allowed, (at least) to declare, that I think it is the only safe, useful, and glorious *Militia*, (or, if you please, STANDING ARMY, for such in reality it is,) which a free People can have, a good Prince desire
fire

fire, or a mixt Government endure. Not that I think a *Crown Army*, (for by that Name I must beg leave to call, what is at present distinguished by the Name of a *standing Army*) inconsistent with such a *Militia*; for it will be the Root, (whenever occasion calls upon our PRINCES to lead forth their Armies) immediately to draw to itself, from the *County Regiments*, and *general Militia*, Numbers equal to any service for which they may be required. In what manner these *Draughts* are to be made; how the *Crown Army* is to be formed and recruited, out of the *County Regiments*, I shall shew, after I have observed, that the *Crown Army* should never consist of more, (in time of Peace) than the Guards, the foreign Garrisons, and the necessary Regiments for the *Plantations*, and *Ireland*.

And, *First*, For recruiting the Regiments of the *Crown Army*. This I shall propose to be by Lot, once a Year in time of *Peace*; and, in time of *War*, as often as shall be judged necessary, in manner following;

The Names of all the *Counties* in *Great Britain*, and all the *Cities*, (being Counties in themselves) should be writ each upon a slip of Paper, to be rolled up, and put into an *Urn* or *Vase*. In like manner, the *Names* of all the marching Regiments of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, to be distinguished by the Names of their respective Colonels; the four Troops of Horse Guards, by the Names of their Commanders; and the three Regiments of Foot Guards, to be distinguished by their Battalions: All These should be writ (severally) upon slips of Paper, to be rolled up, and put into a different *Urn* or *Vase*; in order to be drawn out against the Names of the Counties; in the same manner as the *Numbers* are drawn out of one Wheel, against the Prizes and Blanks in the other, in our *State LOTTERIES*. The number of Rolls of Paper,
in

in each *Vase*, ought to be the same; the deficiency of number, in the *Vase* where the Names of the Regiments are put, should be made up by *Blanks*. When the Rolls of Paper are thus disposed of, in their respective *Vases*, the two Persons, appointed for that purpose, should proceed to draw the *Lots*; beginning with him who is to draw from the *Vase* where the Names of the Counties are; and having taken one out, he is to read aloud the *Name* of the County he finds writ upon the Paper He has drawn; then the Person at the opposite *Vase* draws a *Ticket* in like manner from thence. If it prove a *Blank*, he declares it such; if not, he is to read aloud the Name of the Regiment, Troop, or Battalion, he finds written upon the *Ticket*. And in this manner they are to proceed, till all the *Tickets* or Rolls of Paper are drawn out of each *Vase*.

During the course of this *Lottery*, (as I may, I think, not very improperly call it) a Clerk should be ready, to take down in writing, the Names of the *Counties* as they are drawn; with the Names of the *Regiments*, *Troops*, or *Battalions*, opposite to them, as they happen to be drawn: By which Method, you will be able to see, at one Glance, from what particular County every respective Regiment, Troop, or Battalion in the *Crown Army* is to be recruited. When the *Lottery* is over, and the Clerk has prepared his Paper, by writing the Names of the Counties and Regiments, in the manner before mentioned; the Paper so prepared, should immediately be given to the *Secretary at War*, who, I think, ought always to be present at these *Ballotings*; as well as One of the *Representatives* of each County or City; in order to prevent any Injustice or Unfairness, which may possibly happen upon these occasions, (either to the *Army*, or the *Counties*;) And He, the Secretary at War, should as soon as possible inform every *Lord Lieutenant*, and

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every

every chief *Magistrate*, whose County or City is allotted to recruit any Regiment, Troop, or Battalion. Upon receiving this notice, (from the Secretary at War) every such *Lord Lieutenant*, or chief *Magistrate*, should send Orders to the Officers of their respective Regiments, to be in readiness with their Men, to receive the recruiting Officers from the Regiment of the *Crown Army*, appointed to take Recruits from that particular County or City, according to the destination of the *Lots*: And the Day appointed by the *Lord Lieutenant*, or chief *Magistrate*, for the recruiting Officers to repair to the County Town, or City, in order to recruit their several *Corps*, should be within three Days, (at most) of the annual Muster of the GENERAL MILITIA for that County or City; in order that the Deficiencies, (occasioned by these *Draughts*, to be taken out of the *County Regiments*) may be immediately made up from the general *Militia*: For it is a necessary and unalterable part of this Scheme, always to keep the select *Militia*, or *County Regiments*, compleat.

The manner of Draughting the Men, out of the *County Regiments*, for the Service of the CROWN, should be the same as from the *general Militia* to the County Regiments, viz. by *Lot* or *Ballot*. The Men so chosen, to enter immediately into the Service and Pay of the CROWN; to leave their *Arms* with the Regiment they are taken from; to receive one *Guinea* for enlisting Money, from the recruiting Officer; and to engage for three Years, if in time of *Peace*; if in time of *War*, for seven Years certain, or till disbanded. At their return Home, after having fulfilled their Engagements, every Man, producing a *Certificate* from his proper *Officer*, of having served his full time, (and every Man shall have a RIGHT to demand of his *Officer*, at the Expiration of the three, or the seven Years, or at the time of his being disbanded, such

such a *Certificate*) shall be exempted two whole Years from all *Militia* duty ; if he has performed the three Years Service only : But if his Service has been in time of War, or for seven Years, then he shall be released from all Military Duty whatever, during the remainder of his Life ; except He should chuse to act as a *Voluntier*, upon any occasion, or in case of Invasions or Insurrections.

The method of raising *New Regiments*, or increasing the *Crown Army*, which I am next to speak of, (and which, according to this *Plan*, can only be in case of a foreign War design'd, a Rebellion breaking out, or an Invasion threatened,) I shall propose to be by *Lottery*, the same, as to the manner of drawing, as was before proposed for recruiting the *Crown Army* ; only upon this occasion, where entire New Regiments are to be raised, the Names of two *Counties* or *Cities* should be writ upon each TICKET, or slip of Paper, in order to be drawn out against a single *Regiment* : And the reason of this, to me, seems plain : because, tho' a single County or City, may be very sufficient to recruit a *Regiment* ; I hardly think One alone, (without draining the *Militia* too much,) would be able to raise an entire New Regiment. The *Lords Lieutenants*, and *Chief Magistrates*, when, upon this occasion, they have received the proper Notice from the *Secretary at War* ; must not wait, (if at any distance of time,) for the annual Muster of the *Militia* ; but must order, as soon as possible, an EXTRAORDINARY *General Muster* of the *Militia* ; and, three Days before that General Muster, must be the Time appointed for the Officers of the new intended Regiments, to repair to the several County Towns and Cities, in order to raise their *New Regiments*.

Tho' this our great METROPOLIS the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, were excepted out of the

Scheme, (so far as related to the manner of their raising, disciplining, and governing their respective *Militia*;) yet it was never intended, that they should be debarred from the great Honour of defending, with their Arms, their KING and COUNTRY, (when properly called upon,) by entering into the *Crown Army*; and from taking an equal share in this Service, with the rest of their Countrymen, in proportion to their great Property and Numbers.

The Proportion I propose therefore, for *London*, should be, as to four Counties; and for *Westminster*, as to two. For example, in the *Lottery* for recruiting the Name of the City of *London* should be wrote four times, upon four separate TICKETS or Lots; that of the City of *Westminster* twice, upon different Papers; in the *Lottery* for raising New Regiments, *London* to be wrote twice, and *Westminster* once.

AN ADDITION

To the Plan, for a MILITIA, concerning MILITARY REWARDS and PUNISHMENTS.

Military Rewards and Punishments have been thought necessary in every Army, in every Country; for which reason, I shall beg leave to say something concerning Them in this place: And First, as to Punishments; which, I am afraid, have been more severe in the Armies of this free Nation, (tho' our Discipline has generally been the worst,) than in the Armies of any other Country in the World, under the most arbitrary Government. But as what regards the Punishments of the *Crown Army*, will annually come under the Eye of the *Parliament*, in the MUTINY BILL; I shall propose nothing here, in regard to Them; contenting myself with hoping, that the *Parliament*, (if this Plan should take place, by which means, the greatest Part of the *Crown Army* would be com-

composed of *Freeholders*, and Men of some Property) will not think fitting to extend Military *Punishments* to Life or Limb, in time of Peace ; upon such an Army, so composed. But as to the *County Regiments*, it is absolutely necessary that the *Punishments* there should be never any other than *Disgrace*, or *Pecuniary MULCTS* : The proportion of which, according to the Crime to be judged by their own *Courts Martial* ; and confirmed, or disapproved, by the *Lord Lieutenant*, or *Chief Magistrate*.

Coming now to speak of *REWARDS*, for Military Virtue, I am afraid We shall find that our *Rewards*, of this kind, have fallen as far short of all other Nations, as our *Punishments* have exceeded Them in Severity. But notwithstanding the great Neglect we have been guilty of, in not giving suitable *Rewards* to Military Merit ; and notwithstanding the great Courage of our People, and the great Success which has attended the *British Arms*, upon almost all Occasions, without these *Rewards* : Yet I can't help thinking, that *that* COURAGE, (great as it is,) would have been more exerted ; *that* Success would have been more certain, had the active Spirit of *Britons* been kept awake, by a Prospect of some GRATUITY, to be given by their grateful Country, at the end of their Toils and Dangers ; and their native Courage been properly roused, by a laudable Emulation of attaining some *Marks of Distinction* for superiour Military VIRTUE. We see what surprizing Effects these Things had upon the *Greek* and *Roman* Courage : Why then, may we not expect, from the same Cause, the same Effect ; especially when we consider, the *British* Courage is naturally equal to That of those IMMORTAL PEOPLE ?

The Necessity of something of this kind, being taken for granted, I shall venture to propose, that every *Foot Soldier*, in the *Crown Army*, at the Expiration of

his seven Years Service, (provided that whole Space has been in time of War) should be intitled to an ANNUITY of ten Pounds, *per annum*, during his own Life; if only part of the time, of such Service, has been employed in the War, then in proportion less than ten Pounds *per annum*, according to the number of Years he has served during a War. The *Serjeant* and *Corporals* of the *Foot*, as well as the *Horse* and *Dragoons*, with their non-commissioned Officers, *more*, in proportion, according to their Pay.

But as *Rewards* amongst us, have been chiefly *Pecuniary*; as MONEY has thereby acquired such an Ascendancy, as to be held superiour to all other Considerations; and as HONOUR, which ought to be the highest Inducement, has been degraded in proportion; I would add to this some *Marks of Distinction*, to those who shall particularly distinguish Themselves, by any Action of personal Bravery. A RIBBON, perhaps of a particular Colour, with a Silver, or a Silver-gilt MEDAL hanging to it, to be worn at a Button-hole, like some of the inferior Orders of Knighthood abroad, (with a Right of Precedency annex'd,) might have as good an Effect upon our Soldiers, as a *Sprig* of LAUREL, or a *Civic* or *Mural* CROWN, had upon the antient Conquerors of the World; who I firmly believe, owed that Title to nothing more, than to the Emulation raised among Them, for possessing These (trifling as they may seem to be in Themselves) MARKS of *Distinction* for personal Courage.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

OBSERVATIONS upon the foregoing PLAN.

[*T*HE only Persons proper to be intrusted with Arms, &c. Page 31.] This Assertion cannot be better illustrated, than by the Words of the incomparable *Sidney* upon Government, Chap. ii. §. 21. “No State
 “ can be said to stand upon a steady Foundation, ex-
 “ cept Those whose strength is in their own Soldiery,
 “ and the Body of their own People. Such as serve
 “ for Wages only, often betray their Masters in Di-
 “ stress; and always want the Courage, and Industry,
 “ which is found in those who fight for their own In-
 “ terests, and are to have a Part in the Victory.”

The same Author proves the Necessity of a WELL DISCIPLINED MILITIA in this Island, from the Dangers we are naturally exposed to: No *Crown Army* can, at one and the same time, defend the whole Coast of *Britain*; or engage an Enemy in the North; and protect us from an *Invasion* in the West, There is no Security for Prince, or People, but in a GENERAL MILITIA. Our inextricable Fears, in the late REBELLION, were a Proof of this; as was, in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, the Terror that the City of *London* was possessed with, when a few *Dutch Ships* came no *Chatham*: which plainly shews, that no number of Men, (tho’ naturally valiant,) are able to defend Themselves; unless they be well armed, disciplined, and conducted. Their Multitude brings Confusion: Their Wealth (when it is likely to be made a Prey,) increases the Fears of the Owners; and They, who, if they were brought into good Order, might conquer a great part of the World, (being destitute of it) dare not think of defending Themselves. Nothing can better illustrate the Difference between this State

State of our Country, in the Reign of *Charles* the Second ; and when possessed of a well regulated *Militia*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* ; or shew the Preference due to such a MILITIA, than the following Account of the Behaviour of our Countrymen, in the Year 1588, when threatened with an INVASION from *Spain*.

“ The maritime Counties from *Cornwall*, all along
 “ the South-side of *England*, to *Kent* ; and from *Kent*
 “ Eastward, by *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, to *Lin-*
 “ *colnshire*, were so furnished, (both of Themselves
 “ and with resort of aid from their next Shires,) that
 “ there was no place to be doubted, for landing of
 “ any foreign Forces, but there were, within eight
 “ and forty Hours, to come to the place above
 “ 20,000 fighting Men on Horseback, and on Foot ;
 “ with Field Ordnance, Victuals, Pioneers, and
 “ Carriages ; and all those governed by the princi-
 “ pal NOBLEMEN of the Counties ; and reduc-
 “ ed under Captains of Knowledge. And to make
 “ the *Bands* strong and constant, Choice was made
 “ of the principal KNIGHTS of all Counties, to bring
 “ their *Tenants* to the Field, being Men of Strength,
 “ and landed, and of Wealth ; whereby all the For-
 “ ces so compounded, were of a resolute Disposition
 “ to stick to their LORDS and CHIEFTAINS, and the
 “ Chieftains to trust to their own TENANTS.

“ It was avowed for Truth, that one GENTLE-
 “ MAN in *Kent*, had a Band of 150 *Footmen*, worth
 “ 150,000 *l.* besides their Lands. Such Men would
 “ fight stoutly, before they would have lost their
 “ Goods. There were Numbers of the SHIPS of
 “ the Subjects of *London*, and other Port Towns and
 “ Cities, that voluntarily were armed, able to make
 “ a full NAVY of themselves ; and all at the proper
 “ Cost of the Burgeffes, for certain Months ; with

“ Men,

“ Men, Victuals, and Munition; which did join the
 “ *Queen's* Navy all that Summer. The *Queen* had
 “ also an Army of about 40,000 *Footmen*, and 6000
 “ *Horsemen*. under the Lord Chamberlain HUNSDON;
 “ made ready from the inland Parts of the Realm,
 “ to be about her own Person, without disarming the
 “ Maritime Counties; so as many marched out of
 “ sundry Counties towards Her, at the very time
 “ that she was in the Camp. Some came to the Sub-
 “ urbs, and Towns near *London*, whom she remand-
 “ ed to their Counties, because their Harvest was at
 “ hand; and Many of them would not be counter-
 “ manded; but still approached onward at their own
 “ Charges, (as They said,) to see her Person; and
 “ to fight with Them that boasted, to conquer the
 “ Realm. All the *Noblemen* in the Kingdom, from
 “ East and West, from North and South, (except-
 “ ing only such great LORDS as had special Govern-
 “ ments in Counties, that might not lawfully be ab-
 “ sent from their Charge; and some Few who were
 “ not able to make Forces according to their Desire,)
 “ came to the *QUEEN*, bringing with Them accord-
 “ ing to their Degrees, and to the uttermost of their
 “ Powers, goodly Bands of *Horsemen*; maintaining
 “ them in Pay, and at their own Charge all the time,
 “ until the *Navy* of *Spain* was certainly known to be
 “ passed beyond *Scotland*†.”

[From *seventeen to forty-six Years of Age, to be of
 the Militia*, Page 32, 33.] This was the time of Ser-
 vice, in the *Roman Infantry*. The *Roman* Youth
 were obliged to serve twenty Years. If that Service
 was performed by the time they were thirty-seven
 Years of Age, they might take up their Discharge;
 but, till they had served that number of Years, they
 were

† See a Letter from a Priest at London, to the Spanish Embassa-
 dar at Paris.

were continued in the Army, but could not be compelled, after they were fifty Years of Age: And to prevent the *Roman* Youth from arriving too soon to Military Honours; *Gracchus* provided, by Law, that no Person should be admitted into the Army, under seventeen Years of Age.

[*Every Man——possessed of——a certain degree of Property, shall be of the Militia, Page 32.*] The proportioning of *Service* to *Property* is not only the most equitable Rule, for determining the due Measure, or Degree, of each Man's Service; but is the greatest Security to the Whole: To the SOVEREIGN who mildly governs us: to the LAWS that protect us; and to the Continuance of Peace, to the undisturbed State of Property and Persons. He that desires most Advantage, from the Protection of a GOOD GOVERNMENT should pay most towards the Support of it; or, in other words, all *Duties*, whether personal or pecuniary, should be in proportion to the Property they are designed to protect: and no Man will be found so faithful, or resolute in defending the Property of Another, as in fighting for his Own. But Men of Property may safely be trusted with *Arms*; for they will not disturb the Peace of their own Possessions; nor ever rise against a Government, that shall protect their LIBERTIES and FORTUNES.

[*All such——incapable of serving, Page 34.*] PA-
RISTS, by their Religion, acknowledging themselves to be the SLAVES, (I should rather say, than the *Servants*,) of a *foreign* Power, ought not to be admitted to serve; but should be obliged to pay, (as at present,) towards the *Militia*, for the Protection they receive. All disaffected Persons, who refuse the legal OATHS of *Supremacy* and *Abjuration*, should be obliged to pay, but not permitted to SERVE. All Peace-Officers, Clergymen, Physicians, Gentlemen of the Law; and

and Such, as by their Profession, cannot be absent from the Place of their Residence, without a Detriment to Society ; or have the Misfortune to be maimed or weak ; all Such should certainly be excused personal Duty.

[*The Necessity of a Register*, Page 34.] This is too evident, to require any Arguments or Reasoning in Support of it. No Man can be ignorant, of the Advantage it must be to every State, to know, not only the number of Men fit to bear Arms ; but the Places of their Residence, where they may be found ; and drawn forth to Service immediately, as the Service may demand. And as to the establishing a *Register* of Men, (if the manner offered in the *Plan* should be objected to, as new, and therefore difficult,) I should propose to follow, upon this Occasion, a REGULATION, which is, (as I apprehend) no new One ; for I am informed, that a list of Persons born, baptized, and buried, is every Year delivered in, from every Parish, in every Diocese, to the *Bishop* ; or some inferior Church-Officer ; who may order Duplicates, one for the *Diocesan*, and the other for the *Lord Lieutenant* of the County, (to be sent him by the *Bishop* ;) or the *Lord Lieutenant* may have his own Officer attend Visitations ; and receive the Account of the State of each Parish in every Diocese ; with the addition, of one *Article* more than these *Registers* contain at present ; that is, the number of fighting Men, or Men from seventeen to forty-six Years of Age.

[*To exercise the first Sunday of every Month*, Page 35.] Every Man will by this Regulation, be obliged to attend upon the Duty, he owes to his God, as well as to his *King*, and his *Country*. No Army is ever hurt by *Religion* ; and it is well known, that the best and bravest have been the most religious.

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[*One general Muster of every County, Page 36.*] It may here, (perhaps,) be objected ; that the March, from the Extremes, to the Center of large Counties, would be too fatiguing ; would take up too much time ; and be too expensive. To remove this Objection, therefore, I shall propose, that the GENERAL MUSTERS be made in the *Hundreds*, instead of the *Counties* ; for it will not make the least Difference in this *Plan*, provided there be general *annual Musters* ; whether those Musters be made in the *Hundreds*, or the *Counties*. And indeed, (now I recollect,) this was the Method of our *Saxon* Ancestors, in the annual Musters of their Militia. “ They mustered their “ Arms once every Year, both in Towns and Hun- “ dreds ; and such whose Bodies were unfit for Ser- “ vice, were to find sufficient Men for Service, in “ their Stead.”†

[*The Regiments to be paid by the County, Page 38.*] This Expence to the County will be sufficiently repaid, (I should think) by the Service of these *Regiments*, who, by being properly posted in any part of the County, as the *Lord Lieutenant* shall see necessary, will protect Trade and Travellers ; add to this, the Ease that the Kingdom in general would feel, and of course every County in particular, in being delivered from the Burthen of supporting a numerous *STANDING ARMY* in time of Peace. But if all these Reasons should be thought insufficient ; if the Safety of our Persons, the free Enjoyment of our Properties ; the Security we shall live in, both from foreign and domestic Enemies, should be yet thought too dearly purchased. by the Expence the Counties must be at, to maintain their respective Regiments ; and some new *FUND* must be thought of for paying them ;

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† *Bacon upon Government.*

Can any thing more rational, seasonable, or politic be thought of, than to ease the Country at once of the POOR'S RATES, now grown so oppressive on one Hand, and such a shelter for Idleness on the other? This is the only Country in *Europe*, where there is such a TAX; and the PERNICIOUS EFFECTS of it are seen and acknowledged by every Body. I am, for my own Part, persuaded, that no other *Scheme*, but this of the *County Regiments* would subdue the numerous Bands of SMUGGLERS and of HIGHWAYMEN, who infest our Roads. Monthly Executions have been tried too long, and were complained of many Years since, by *Chancellor More*, in his UTOPIA, as insufficient for the End they were designed to obtain. It is horrible to think of the devastation of our Species, by Executions of the *Law*, in this Way; and by that more fatal Incendiary, DISTILLED SPIRITS, a powerful Ally to Acts of Villainy, and the Gallows; and the Debility of Those among the common People, who are as Yet unchanged. I have wondered, how such grave, serious; and, (I believe) religious beings, as our ***** are, could continue to order so many human Sacrifices, (for I can give these monthly Executions no better Appellation) without representing the Cruelties of Them; and obtaining, from the Legislature, some more effectual Means to prevent EXECUTIONS, as well as ROBBERIES. It seems to me extreamly evident, that if the public Roads are not patrolled by the MILITIA, they will for ever continue to be infested by *Highwaymen*. But if the *County Regiments* are established, and proper MANUFACTURES set up, instead of *Alms-Houses*, and other Encouragements for *Beggary*; I should think it would be very easy, (by means of these COUNTY REGIMENTS and the REGISTER,) to give an Account of every Man in the Kingdom; to prevent almost every Act of Villainy; to cure Idleness,

and

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and relieve Distress, by obliging Such to work, as are able to work ; and by turning our Charities into Hospitals, for the Maintenance of *deserted Children* ; and of Such as are disabled by Age, or loss of Limbs, or of Senses.

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